No. 5

DEMOCRACY VERSUS COMMUNISM SERIES

HOW THE COMMUNIST PARTY OPERATES

The text of this pamphlet appeared originally as Chapter 9 of the book *Democracy Versus Communism* by Dr. Kenneth Colegrove, which was published in 1957. It is reprinted here with slight changes to bring it up to date.

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HOW THE COMMUNIST PARTY OPERATES

The Communists speak of themselves as a *party*. But in Soviet Russia and Red China, the Communist Party operates more like an army than a political party. Lenin planned to organize the masses as a "proletarian [workers'] army." The Communist Party, trained under military discipline, served as the vanguard or general staff of the great battalions of workers. The military character of the Party was further developed by Stalin, and it still continues today.

Communists talk of "elections," "representatives," "Constitution," and "Congress," but in Soviet Russia and Red China these words mean something quite different from what you would expect. For example, in democratic countries elections are a free choice by the voters between candidates they desire to be their representatives, whereas in Soviet Russia and Communist China the voters have no choice among candidates—the Communist Party tells them whom to vote for.

Why do Soviet dictators bother to hold elections since there is only one party? Why do Communists have a Constitution which the Party can change as it pleases? As you read on, watch for the answers to these questions:

1. In what ways does the structure of the Communist Party enable a few dictators to control huge areas and millions of people?
2. How do Communist dictators use the crime of deviation to suppress all opposition?
3. Why does the Communist Party of China slavishly copy the ideas and methods of Russian Communists?

THE ONE-PARTY SYSTEM IN THE SOVIET UNION

Communism Demands Blind Obedience. All dictators and totalitarian forms of government put great stress on the principle of leadership by an elite, as you read in booklet 4. Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany emphasized it constantly for years.

But long before they rose to power, Vladimir Lenin had developed the Communist idea of leadership and unquestioning obedience to the leader. In the Revolution, which he believed would certainly come, the masses would rise against their oppressors, the capitalists. But the masses were ignorant; they must have leaders. These leaders would be educated men who understood and cherished Communist ideas—in other words, the leaders would be Lenin and his friends. The Communist Party would be "the vanguard of the Revolution."

Of course not every Communist Party member could expect to be a leader. Most of them must be content to obey a handful of Party leaders—the hard core of talented, well-disciplined, pitiless revolutionaries. At the right moment these men must be ready to seize power by any means, including violence and deceit. Lenin, like Marx, was a student of military methods. His "vanguard of the masses" was to be organized with military discipline, as he wrote in 1902 in *What Is to Be Done?*

The Communist Party Claims to Represent Workers. In the past, every totalitarian system has tended to allow only one political party to exist. Mussolini crushed all Italian political parties except his own, the Fascist Party. Hitler permitted only the Nazi Party in Germany. Soviet Russia has been no exception. Communist theory and practice have steadily encouraged and built up the one-party system. The reason is that, in theory, the Bolshevik Revolution was to be a rising of the masses. The masses, according to Lenin, all belonged to two allied classes: the workers and the poor peasants. The Bolshevik Revolution aimed to wipe out all other classes, especially the middle class landowners, rich businessmen, and office-holders or bureaucrats. So the political parties that represented these classes must, of course, also be destroyed. The Communist Party could not and would not tolerate any rivals. Said Stalin, "In the U.S.S.R. there is ground for only one party, the Communist Party."

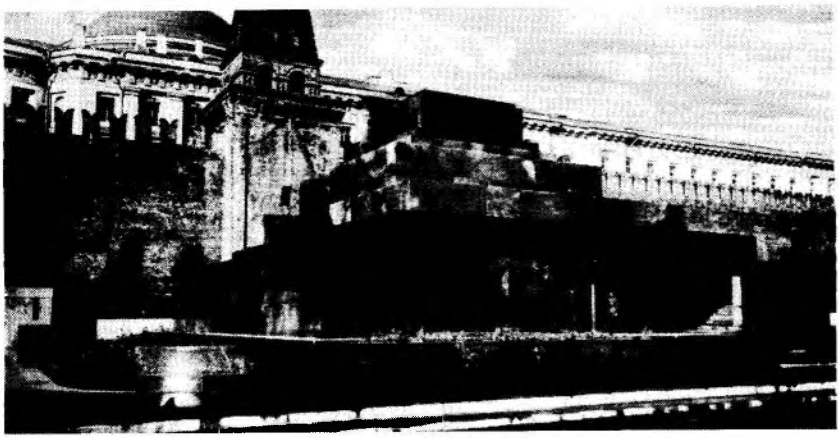
Communist leaders often proudly refer to their Party as a *monolith*, which is a solid stone pillar rising high in the air. By this, Communists do not mean that all Soviet workers are solidly members of the Party. Rather, they mean that the Communist Party speaks for all the workers. The Communist Party, they claim, is a class party—the party of the only class theoretically allowed in Soviet Russia.

This idea is entirely in harmony with the Communist concept of freedom. In democratic countries. citizens are free to organize and join political parties and criticize the government, for this is a part of freedom of speech and of assembly. But in Communist theory,

political parties are merely representatives of various classes. Therefore, when all classes except the working class have been wiped out, the worker is then "free" to be represented and ruled by his class party, the Communist Party. To Communists this argument may make sense, but to an American it is likely to seem a strange, twisted kind of logic.

The Communist Party Is a Military Organization. Lenin and Stalin always claimed that the Communist Party must be a closely knit organization of capable, obedient men and women. Present Communist dictators seem to have the same idea. Often the dictators have compared their Party to an army. Said Lenin, "The thing that we need is a military organization of agents." The lowest fighting units of the Party Lenin called *cadres*, a name he borrowed from military books. Even in the period from 1902 to 1917, when many Communists were hiding in Europe, Asia, and America, Lenin insisted on rigid discipline. No matter how scattered they were, all members of the revolutionary army must fight with one aim and under one rule.

When the Communists seized the Russian government in November, 1917, the Party had under 100,000 members. These were the "Old Bolsheviks," as they proudly called themselves later. In the first ten years after the Revolution began, they were the top leaders in running the Soviet government as well as the Party. Lenin, however, realized that he needed to broaden the Party base by bringing in new and younger members. In 1918 Party membership rose to 115,000; in 1921 it reached 576,000. Many of the new members



Lenin's body lies in this huge tomb in Red Square, Moscow. It is a shrine to Communists. Stalin's body was placed alongside Lenin's.

proved incompetent or unwilling to obey Party discipline. To correct this, Communist Party leaders ordered purges, or the expulsion of members whose loyalty they doubted in any way. By 1924, therefore, Party membership had shrunk to about 350,000.

When Stalin became dictator, Communist Party membership increased once more. In 1933, the Party had over two million members and more than a million candidates waiting to join. Then Stalin

Lenin, Father of the Soviet Union

Every issue of **Pravda** has Lenin's picture in its masthead. The little, bald-headed man was a remarkable speaker and organizer. His real name was Vladimir I. Ulianov, and he was born of faithful Russian Orthodox parents in a small town on the Volga River. Lenin's older brother became a revolutionary and was hanged for plotting to murder the Tsar.

In 1895 Lenin, now a revolutionary too, was arrested for plotting against the Tsar's government and exiled to Siberia until 1900. He then went back to Russia, but not for long, having decided that he could plot more safely against the Tsar's government from foreign soil. So for seventeen years he lived all over Europe—in Germany, Austria, France, Sweden, Switzerland, and Finland. How he lived is hard to say, but there is some evidence that money robbed from Russian banks paid some of his bills.

Lenin wrote many pamphlets explaining Marx's theories about communism, and outlined a plan for revolution in Russia. Instead of his own name, Ulianov, he now used a pen name, "N. Lenin"—perhaps for the Lena River in Siberia.

Russian revolutionary leaders met often outside of Russia, and Lenin soon became leader of a group called the Bolsheviks, as well as kingpin of the entire revolutionary movement. In 1917 the German Army smuggled him into Russia, hoping he would stir up trouble for the new provisional government and thus force Russia out of World War I. Lenin did not disappoint the Germans. He not only led a successful revolt but became chief of the new Soviet government, building the foundations of a powerful and pitiless dictatorship. Lenin was not a well man during his last years, owing to a shot from a Social Revolutionary. He died in January, 1924.

Fanatical Communist followers of Lenin placed his embalmed body in a glass case inside a huge tomb in Moscow's Red Square. Millions of Russians have gone there to view the "Father of the Soviet Union," who has become a sort of god to godless Communists.

ordered severe purges that reduced membership to less than a million and a half. By 1953, when Stalin died, the total number of Party members had soared to 6,013,259, in addition to 868,886 candidates—a total of 6,882,145. In 1956, the total Party membership reached 7,215,505.

The most important thing to remember about Communist Party membership is that it has always included only a very small part of all the Soviet people. In 1921 it was scarcely four-tenths of one per cent. In 1956, when the Soviet Union's population had reached

Fun with the Young Pioneers

A young Russian Communist, named Vasili, who renounced communism and fled to the United States, has told of his training in the Young Pioneers, the middle school of the Communist Party. Here is one of his stories as reported by W. L. White in **Land of Milk and Honey**, pp. 25-26:

"Except for school, the biggest thing in their lives was the Young Pioneer organization.

"Their leader was a girl almost eighteen who had gone through the Young Pioneers into the Komsomol and hoped some day to be chosen a member of the Party. She told the children that if any of them had been taught religion, they must forget such superstitions, and if any parents still kept ikons [Russian Orthodox holy pictures] in their houses they must throw them out.

" 'But what if the father and mother will not do this?' asked one boy.

" 'Come and tell me,' answered the leader, 'and we will all go together and help you.'

"As a part of this exciting work they would go from house to house, hunting for ikons. When they found a long-cherished religious picture, the boy from the house would be called on the carpet and told in meeting that if the ikon was not out of his house in a month, he would be thrown out of the Young Pioneers. This was a terrible punishment, because all fun came through the Young Pioneers. The leader organized games, plays and picnics, and for a Soviet child there was no life without it.

"A few children, Vasili explains, because of bad family training, resented the campaign against ikons, and stayed outside the Young Pioneers. They became 'lost children.' They might continue in the People's School, and a few even got into college; but they were not in the Komsomols and of course would never even be considered for membership in the Party, which all Komsomols aspired to join."

two hundred million, barely five per cent of the adults were Communist Party members.

Long, Careful Training Precedes Party Membership. In the first ten years after the Revolution began, most new members of the Communist Party had received only a hurried training in Communist methods. Lenin planned, however, to recruit Party membership from Soviet young people who would be indoctrinated in the Party schools. Lenin saw clearly that the final success of the Revolution depended on educating the next generation, both as leaders and as humble workers. In 1918 he arranged for organization of the Komsomol, or Communist Youth League. It had about 22,000 members in the beginning. Several years later Communist leaders started two other organizations: the Little Octobrists for children, and the Young Pioneers for older boys and girls. By 1957 the Komsomol had over eighteen million members. There were 431,000 Komsomol schools in cities and towns and on collective farms.

Future Party members begin their training as Communists in the first grade. In the Little Octobrists schools, selected children learn love of the Soviet fatherland, its people, the Communist leaders, and the Soviet Army. Skilled teachers develop patriotic attitudes by means of games, songs, and stories. The name *Little Octobrists*

Young Pioneers examine model of a tank in the Young Pioneer's Palace in Moscow.

means "little revolutionaries who follow the example of the October Revolution." The name comes from the Bolshevik Revolution that took place on October 25, 1917, according to the old-style Russian calendar, or on November 7, 1917, by the Western calendar.

When he is nine, a Russian child joins the Young Pioneers. Each child belongs to a "link" of ten members. Four links make a "brigade" of forty members. Young Pioneers study Communist Party history, the words of its leaders, and the Red Army's victories. Teachers solemnly tell them endless lies about the "oppression of workers" in America and Western Europe. They take the children to museums and historic spots. Physical education, too, is well planned. There are drills and competitive sports, such as running, jumping, and swimming. Communists need well-trained bodies as well as obedient minds.

The Komsomol Trains for Leadership. At fourteen or fifteen, carefully selected Young Pioneers may enter the Komsomol. Here groups of ten youths "elect" their leader, who is actually a Communist

Discipline within the Komsomol

Each local unit of the Komsomol exercises discipline over its members. A former Communist who had belonged to the Komsomol describes a local Komsomol meeting at which a girl member is scolded for having observed religious ceremonies at Eastertime. The report is in an interesting book, **The Waif**, by Nicholas Voinov, pp. 157-158:

"The chairman of the Komsomol continued:

" 'Everybody knows that Komsomol member Stolbovskaya brought colored eggs and an Easter cake to school; that she ate them during recess and offered them to her friends in the presence of other students. As a member of the Komsomol, Stolbovskaya couldn't fail to understand the significance of her act!'

"The chairman went on, indignantly describing how Stolbovskaya, contrary to her duty as a member of the Komsomol, had failed to renounce old [religious] prejudices and had exercised a bad influence on the classmates. He wound up with the words:

"The duty of every Komsomol member is to exercise influence on his family and his surroundings. But what an example has been set by Stolbovskaya! Comrade Stolbovskaya, how can you explain your action?'

"Stolbovskaya was silent and blushing in disgrace."

officer, chosen and paid by the Party. The purpose of the Komsomol is to develop young men and women into worthy Party members, able to lead workers and peasants. They receive advanced instruction in Party history, Communist teachings, and obedience to Party leaders. They also get some military training and are encouraged to take part in competitive sports. They must read magazines and pamphlets published especially for them. Promising members win appointments to teach the Young Pioneers; others are assigned a leading role in student activities at the People's Schools. If they make a good record in the Komsomol, youths from twenty to twenty-eight years of age may become candidates for Party membership.

As you can see, the Komsomol is the Communist Party's chief recruiting and training school. It is under strict Party discipline. There is no age limit for the chief officials of the Komsomol. They keep their membership in the Komsomol even as Party members. In this way Party leaders keep a watchful eye on all members of the Young Communist League. Wise youngsters learn early that their success depends on absolute obedience to Party orders. One disobedient act or word may ruin the most promising career. Many Komsomol members enter the Red Army and other military services, engineering, and other professions; some become officials of the Party and the Soviet government.

Besides serving as a training school for Party members and teaching Communist ideas to Russian youth, the Komsomol has another purpose. It provides a supply of willing workers for any enterprise or region Communist leaders decide to develop. According to *Soviet Affairs Notes,* May 18, 1955:

> *"The Komsomol program also exploits youth for the economic benefit of the regime. Whatever the current program of the regime, the Komsomol is expected to whip its membership into line. Thus with the current emphasis on agriculture, the Komsomol dedicated itself in 1954 to uprooting some 100,000 youths from their homes and sending them as 'volunteers' in the East as helpers in the new farm areas."*

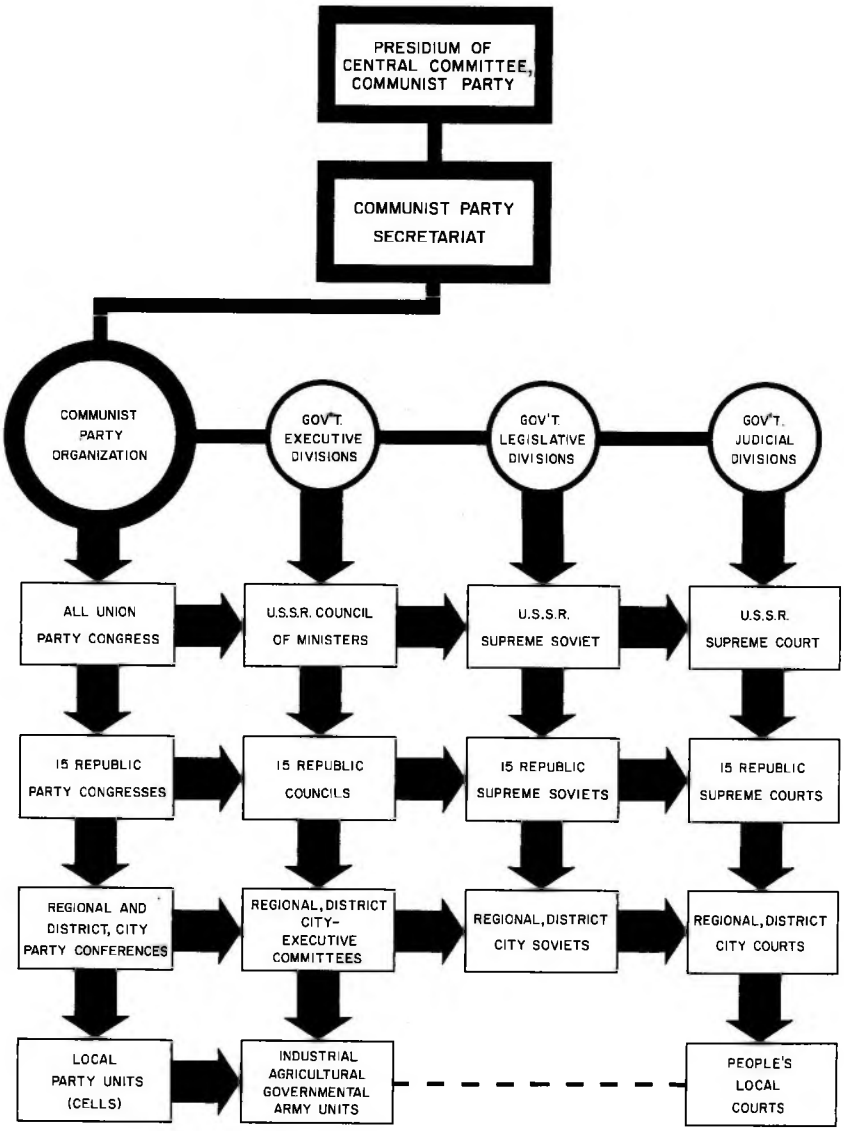
1. What did Lenin mean when he said the Communist Party must be "the vanguard of the Revolution"?
2. How do the Communists justify the one-party system in Soviet Russia?
3. About what per cent of Russian adults belong to the Communist Party?
4. Give three steps in the training of a young Communist from the time he enters school until he is admitted to the Party.

THE POLITBURO OR PRESIDIUM

The Presidium Is the Top of the Communist Ladder. From the hard core of Old Bolsheviks in Lenin's day, the Communist Party has grown to a huge bureaucracy or body of officials. It now includes six million men and over a million women who carry out the orders of the Party dictators. They run the Soviet government, control the Red Army, direct the secret police, rule the slave labor camps, supervise education, plan the entire production and consumption of goods for more than two hundred million people, and manage all Soviet factories, mines, railroads, and collective farms.

Heading the Communist Party is the Presidium, which is the top executive committee of the Party. This is a small group of leading Communist officials, which Lenin established in 1919. It was then called the Politburo, or Political Bureau. It possessed and still possesses power to decide what the Party and the Soviet government will do. Also in 1919, an Organization Bureau was set up to develop the structure of the Communist Party, along with a Secretariat to manage local Party units throughout Soviet Russia. Lenin headed the Politburo, and Stalin became First Secretary of the Secretariat. Through Stalin's hands passed all orders to members of the Party's lower ranks. This gave Stalin a great advantage in the fight for power that developed among Politburo members after Lenin died in 1924.

In 1920 the Politburo had only five members: Lenin, as Chairman, Trotsky, Stalin, and two other Old Bolsheviks. In 1924 membership increased to seven. During most of Stalin's dictatorship it averaged about ten members. In 1952, when Stalin chose Malenkov as his successor, the Politburo (now called Presidium) increased its membership to twenty-five. When Stalin died in 1953, its membership was reduced to ten. In mid-1957 it numbered fifteen.



How the Communist Party is Organized.

The Party Congress Obeys the Presidium. Party statutes say that the Congress of the Communist Party, not the Presidium, is the supreme organ of the Party. But in Soviet Russia, Party rules and the Soviet Constitution are seldom what they seem. Communist doctrine is the supreme guide, but Party convenience will decide how the doctrine is to be applied by the Party dictators. Party rules direct the Party Congress to elect a Central Committee of 133 members. This Central Committee is supposed to elect the Presidium. In fact, however, the few closely united members of the Politburo or Presidium have always run the Congress and have also chosen the members of the Central Committee.

This was true under Stalin and so far as is known the situation has not changed since he died in 1953. As you might expect, the Central Committee "elects" to the Presidium the same Party bosses who selected the Central Committee!

In Lenin's time, the Communist Party Congress met at least once a year. Under Stalin, the Party Congress met only once in about four years, and not at all from 1939 to 1952. Under Lenin and Stalin, this Party Congress consisted of some thirteen hundred hand-picked delegates from all parts of Soviet Russia. W. W. Kulski, in *The Soviet Regime*, thus describes the 1952 Party Congress:

> *"The Congress delegates were not elected directly by the rank and file members of the Party at the general meetings of the primary organizations [soviets]. They were picked by the Party bureaucracy at regional conferences. . . . The mode of electing delegates was determined by the Central Committee, which established in advance the agenda that was subsequently unanimously adopted by the Congress itself. Local Party organizations were not asked to make suggestions about the agenda. Thus everything was staged in advance by the Central Committee, whose members supplied almost all of the Congress speakers. . . . The servility of Congress delegates to the leaders on whose good graces their daily bread depended was manifested from the opening meeting."*

Apparently the situation has changed little since 1952. At the February, 1956, meeting of the Party Congress, over 50 per cent of the members were Party and government officials. All but two of its sessions were open to the Russian people, but foreign newspapermen could not get into the meetings. The Party Congress "elected" the Central Committee by a voice vote from a list the

Presidium had prepared. Most of the new members were close associates of First Secretary Khrushchev. The Congress also adopted, without much discussion, a program prepared by the Party Presidium. This is a far cry from the free, open debate that takes place in the United States Congress or in the Democratic and Republican Conventions. Words like "Congress," "committee," and "elections" in Soviet Russia mean something entirely different from what they mean in free nations.

The Politburo Becomes the Center of Power. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 set up what Communists call the *dictatorship of the proletariat.* This imaginary dictatorship of millions of people, however, needed a leader—the Communist Party. And the Communist Party, in turn, should be led by its vanguard, the top leaders. As you have seen, this supreme vanguard was the Politburo, now called the Presidium.

From 1917 to 1924, Lenin ran Soviet Russia. Most experts on the period agree that he was a dictator. He was Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, which later changed its name to Council of Ministers. In the Politburo, where all were supposed to be equal, Lenin was the presiding officer. But his great prestige, keen mind, and strong character made him the undisputed leader whom other leaders generally followed.

After Lenin's death, a "collective dictatorship" ruled Soviet Russia for a few years. But inside the Politburo a fierce struggle went on. Playing one member against the other, Stalin succeeded in ousting Kamenev and Zinoviev. He then turned against Trotsky and won, with the result that Trotsky was expelled in 1926. Now began a new struggle between Stalin and other leaders: Rykov, Bukharin, and Tomsky. By 1928 Stalin had beaten them all. Next, he directed a series of purges and murders to make his power over the Party complete. From 1928 until his death in 1953, Stalin was undisputed dictator of Soviet Russia.

Stalin Is the Merciless "Man of Steel." An Old Bolshevik of indomitable courage, Stalin was highly intelligent yet without mercy. He truly earned his pseudonym *Stalin,* meaning in Russian, "Man of Steel." His followers built up the Stalin myth, proclaiming him Soviet Russia's greatest hero. Hitler was called *Der Fuehrer,* "The Leader," in Nazi Germany, but Stalin went him one better and was called *Velikii Vozhd,* "The Great Leader," in Soviet Russia. As one writer, Merle Fainsod, declared:

"As the Stalin cult gathered momentum and lifted him to a position of undisputed supremacy, his Politburo lieutenants seemed to shrink into a secondary orbit of pale stars who shone in his radiance."

Like Lenin, Stalin presided over the Politburo. But he kept a tighter grip on the Party by always remaining First Secretary of the Secretariat. Until the Germans invaded Soviet Russia in 1941, Stalin exercised his power through the Secretariat and the Politburo. But in 1941 he became the Premier, or the Chairman of the Council of Ministers. He also got himself appointed a Marshal of the Red Army with personal command over all military forces.

In the Presidium Secret Struggles Continue. Stalin's prestige was so great that he was able, contrary to Communist practice, to pick Georgii M. Malenkov as his successor. But soon after Stalin died, Communist leaders challenged Malenkov's supremacy. They let him become Chairman of the Council of Ministers, or Premier, but made him resign as First Secretary of the Party in favor of Nikita S. Khrushchev. Instead of one dictator, the Presidium de-

The picture shows a minor Communist party member going through the formality of nominating Joseph Stalin in 1950 as a candidate for election to the Supreme Soviet. Why was the nomination no more than a formality?

cided to have what is called a *collective leadership*. Supreme power remained in the hands of four or five leaders in the Presidium.

That was only the beginning. Behind the scenes another grim struggle went on. Lavrenti P. Beria, Minister of the Interior and head of the secret police, tried to extend his already great powers. In July, 1954, Beria was arrested and some time later he was secretly killed.

Next, Khrushchev attacked Malenkov's leadership and won.

Stalin, Dictator of Soviet Russia

Joseph Djugashvili was at heart a bandit, but when he became dictator he put on a dignified and respectable front. He was born in Georgia on the southern slopes of the Caucasus Mountains, a region noted for lawlessness. His father was a hard-drinking shoemaker; his mother, a pious woman who wanted her son to become a priest. Joseph entered a Tiflis seminary to study for the priesthood, but soon became a revolutionary. Like other revolutionaries, he took an assumed name, calling himself **Stalin**, from the word **stal**, which means "steel" in Russian.

Unlike Lenin and Trotsky, Stalin spent little time in foreign countries. He is said to have directed a series of robberies of Georgian banks, using the stolen money to help the revolutionary cause in Russia and abroad. He was arrested and exiled to Siberia for life, but was able to return to Russia after the March Revolution of 1917. Attaching himself to Lenin, he played a part in the October Revolution. Lenin chose Stalin to be a member of the Politburo and, in 1922, made him First Secretary of the Communist Party. Before he died in 1924, Lenin suspected Stalin of disloyalty and planned to remove him.

After the death of Lenin, Stalin began his brutal scheming to become dictator. By purges and murders, he destroyed his rivals. Until 1953, Stalin ruled Soviet Russia more absolutely than any Russian tsar. He developed the "cult of the individual"—a glorification of himself. His picture hung in every public office and Russian home. On his seventieth birthday Stalin was praised as a "Soviet god." At his death, his body was placed alongside Lenin's, in the huge tomb in Moscow's Red Square.

Three years later members of the Presidium who had been Stalin's stooges during his rule decided to disassociate themselves from his crimes by denouncing him. The extent of Stalin's cruelties will probably never be known, but he no longer ranks with Lenin in Soviet school books. The "man of steel" is now said to have had "feet of clay."

Malenkov was ousted from the Cabinet and the Party Presidium and sent 2,000 miles from Moscow to be manager of a hydroelectric plant. Nikolai A. Bulganin became Premier, or Chairman of the Council of Ministers. Propaganda praising the new collective leadership was spread by the Communist Party newspaper *Pravda*. The aim was to conceal the grim struggle for power going on in the Kremlin at Moscow.

By 1956, Khrushchev and Bulganin were clearly the dictators-in-chief of Soviet Russia. But neither was all-powerful as Stalin had been. According to Khrushchev, the Party "has become still more monolithic." Suddenly the Party Presidium denounced Stalin and his "crimes." In a speech before a secret session of the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, Khrushchev declared that Stalin's dictator-

Does there seem to be any evidence that Khrushchev's power remained strong, despite his attack on Stalin, the dead dictator?

ship and the "Stalinist cult of the individual" had been a violation of Lenin's "holy" teachings—namely, that a "core" of leaders should act as the Party's vanguard. He also recited a long list of Stalin's crimes, trying to give the impression that the present members of the Presidium had taken no part in them. Other attacks on Stalin followed. Radio Moscow broadcast articles from *Pravda* denouncing Stalin. It seemed to foreign observers as if everybody was "trying to get in on the act" and help downgrade Stalin. The dead dictator was to blame for all the mistakes, murders, and atrocities of the previous

twenty-five years. In 1957, Khrushchev's power was demonstrated when Molotov, Malenkov, and two other "Stalinists" were dropped from the Party Presidium at his demand. In 1958 Khrushchev replaced Bulganin as Premier. He now held the top posts in party and government formerly held by Stalin.

Criticism of Stalin Leads to Conflict. What did the Russian people think of this sudden turn against their former dictator, whom they had for years been taught was faultless? Very few know, for Russians do not have freedom of speech or press. Foreigners, however, began to ask embarrassing questions. Even foreign Communist leaders dared to speak out. Why had Khrushchev, Bulganin, and others cooperated with Stalin? Why had they waited until three years after his death to denounce him?

So far, the answers have been feeble excuses. Stalin's great popularity, according to Khrushchev and others, made it impossible to resist him. Moreover, to oppose him would have hurt national unity. Finally, they blamed Beria, for having concealed the facts.

The downgrading of Stalin cannot wipe out forty years of Soviet oppression. Many experts on Soviet communism hold that dictatorship, violence, and injustice cannot be avoided where Communist teachings and methods are in force.

The sincerity of Khrushchev's downgrading of Stalin has been seriously doubted. Seven months later he suppressed the revolt of the workers and students in Hungary with the same brutality used by Stalin. On New Year's Day, 1957, the press quoted Khrushchev as highly extolling the dead dictator and saying, "We are all Stalinists."

Communist Party Structure Encourages Dictatorship. The bureaucracy or administration of the Communist Party is often called *apparat,* or "the apparatus." It consists of a huge pyramid of Party chiefs, great and small. The leaders are organized into ranks, each one subordinate to the rank above it. At the top of the pyramid are the Party Presidium and the Secretariat in Moscow. The pyramid's base rests on some 350,000 Party units or committees, in villages, city neighborhoods, factories, and on collective farms.

How do orders travel from top to bottom of the pyramid—that is, from Moscow to faraway village or factory committees? The Party Presidium in Moscow directs and is a part of the All-Union Central Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. There are fifteen republics, each with its own Central Committee. The leaders of these committees are completely under Presidium control; they take orders from Moscow and in turn give instructions to the Party committees in each *oblast,* or region. Leaders of the *oblast* committees then give orders to the committees in each city and

country area. City and country committee leaders proceed to direct committees in each city neighborhood and village. Finally, neighborhood committee leaders give orders to each Communist unit in factories and on collective farms. The diagram of Communist Party organization on page 10 shows how this complicated system is organized. The chain of command extends from Khrushchev in Moscow down to every "comrade" in every Party unit in every village and factory.

The Central Committee Sends Out the Orders. Party officers at all levels below the Central Committee in Moscow get their orders from the Secretariat by letter or telegram, or through agents sent by the Central Committee. They read carefully and obey immediately statements of Party policy printed in *Pravda* and the other Communist newspapers—in the U.S.S.R., remember, only Communist-ruled newspapers may be printed.

The whole Party below the Presidium is under severe controls. Secret police of the State Security Committee and the MVD, or Ministry of the Interior, spy on Party members and government officials. In Stalin's time, a special type of Communist agent appeared, called *apparatchiki,* or "men of the apparatus." They were the tried and true workers of the apparatus, or Party administration. They attached themselves to Stalin. When he died, some of them attached themselves to Malenkov, others to Beria, and still others to Khrushchev.

1. What is the Presidium, and what does it do?
2. Why is the Party Congress called a "rubber stamp"?
3. Why is Lenin called "the father of the Soviet Union"?
4. How did Stalin get and hold dictatorial power?

PARTY PURGES AND DEVIATION

Deviation Is a Serious Crime. The Communist Party, as you have seen, demands complete obedience from all its members. Each must accept what Lenin called "iron discipline." To disagree or question any Party doctrine, as explained by the Presidium, or to disobey any order of the Central Committee is called *deviation.* This is a most serious crime. Deviation is punishable by purge, or expulsion from the Party. In many cases there follow arrest and trial, sometimes public but often secret. If found guilty, the deviationist can

expect imprisonment or death, or confinement in a slave labor camp.

To grasp clearly how the Communist system works, you must understand why deviation is treated as a crime—practically as treason. Communist doctrine is the supreme guide of Soviet policy. It has two purposes: (1) it is the over-all directive, uniting all Party leaders and workers; and (2) it is a weapon which the dictatorship uses to control all Party activities and to punish any disobedience. More than twenty years ago Stalin made this clear in his famous statement at Sverdlov University:

> *"The highest expression of the leading role of the Party here in the Soviet Union, in the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is the fact that not a single important political or organizational question is decided by any soviet or any other mass organization without guiding directions from the Party. In this sense it could be said that the dictatorship of the proletariat is in essence the dictatorship of its vanguard, the dictatorship of its Party, as the main guiding force of the proletariat."*

Lenin and Stalin Permit No Opposition. Time after time, Stalin and other dictators have said that Communist doctrine guides every decision that the Party, as vanguard of the masses, makes. According to the Report of the Nineteenth Party Congress in 1952, Malenkov expressed it this way, "Our Party's strength lies in the fact that it is guided in all its work by the Marxist-Leninist theory."

Who decides what this Marxist-Leninist theory is? The answer is simple. When Lenin was dictator, it was Lenin and the Politburo. When Stalin was dictator, it was Stalin and the Politburo—but mostly Stalin. Since the death of Stalin, it has been the collective dictatorship of the Presidium dominated by Khrushchev.

Because the Presidium is the leadership of the vanguard of the masses, it controls Communist doctrine. This gives the men who make up the Presidium a powerful weapon to maintain their power. They can brand any Party member who refuses to obey their orders guilty of the crime of deviation and punish him mercilessly. In public and secret trials, such individuals are branded as traitors and "enemies of the people," though in many cases their only offense has been to disagree with Party orders.

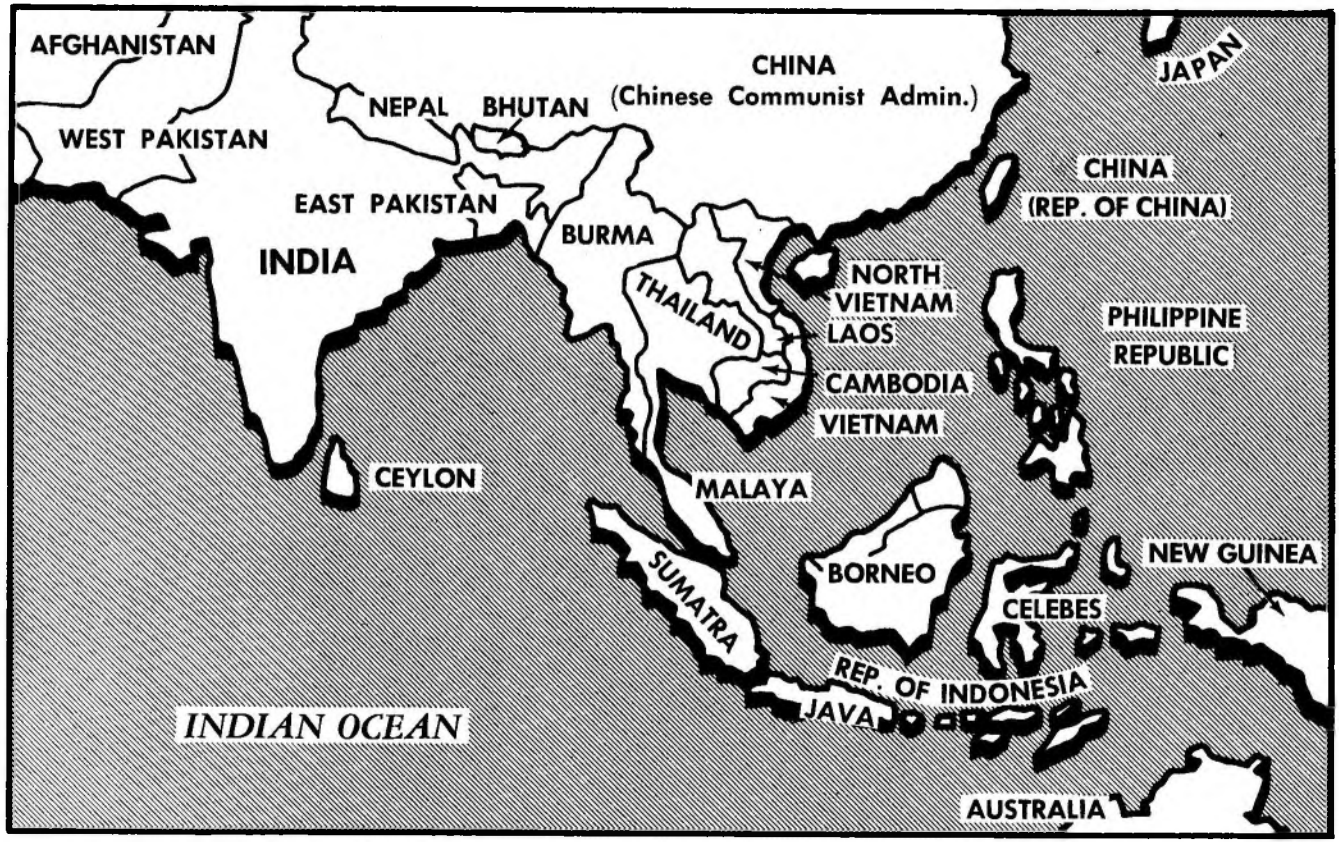
Party Purges Are a Communist Custom. Lenin openly insisted on the necessity of Party purges. He was pitiless in conducting the 1921 purge. He ordered the secret police to punish Communists who refused to conform.

Even more cruelly than Lenin, Stalin used the purge to get rid of his personal enemies and climb to supreme power. On page 12 you have read how, one by one, Stalin drove Kamenev, Zinoviev, Trotsky, Bukharin, Tomsky, and Rykov from the Politburo. Trotsky had even been expelled from Russia and was later murdered in Mexico. Fearing retaliation from potential rivals if they remained alive, Stalin used the Great Purge of 1936 to 1938 to bring all of them to their death. In this purge, sixty-two top leaders were shot, imprisoned, sent to slave labor camps, or just made to "disappear." The purge extended from top to bottom of the Party. Over seventy-seven per cent of the members of the Central Committee were purged, sixty per cent of the regional committees, and thirty-five per cent of the village and factory committees. The purge created mass terrorism. In the words of Khrushchev, in his address on Stalin's crimes in 1956:

> *"Mass arrests and deportations of many thousands of people, execution without trial and without normal investigation, created conditions of insecurity, fear and even despair."*

After Stalin's death, the collective leadership continued the use of the purge. In July, 1953, Malenkov arrested Beria, his most dangerous rival, along with many of his followers or *apparatchiki.* They were tried in secret and condemned as "enemies of the people." Six months later the dictatorship announced that Beria and six of his followers had been shot. Beria's followers were purged throughout Russia, and thousands were sent to slave labor camps. Then, in mid-1957, as you have read, Malenkov's turn came—he was dismissed from the Presidium and sent to a minor job near Mongolia.

Communist Parties in the Satellite Countries Follow the Model of Soviet Russia. In Poland, the Communist Party which, with Soviet aid, seized power in 1946, was governed by a Politburo. It possessed an apparatus copied from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The dictatorships in the other satellites followed the same model. As in Soviet Russia, only one political party was permitted. Even in Yugoslavia, which broke from the Soviet yoke in 1948, the Communist Party has tolerated no rivals. East Germany has been an exception; here the Communist Party is disguised under the name of Socialist Unity Party—supposedly a fusion of Communists and Social Democrats. A few minor parties are permitted, but under conditions that make them powerless to oppose the Communist-controlled government. As in the other satellites, the leaders


AFGHANISTAN
WEST PAKISTAN
NEPAL
BHUTAN
CHINA
(Chinese Communist Admin.)
JAPAN
CHINA
(REP. OF CHINA)
EAST PAKISTAN
INDIA
BURMA
THAILAND
NORTH
VIETNAM
LAOS
CAMBODIA
VIETNAM
PHILIPPINE
REPUBLIC
CEYLON
MALAYA
SUMATRA
BORNEO
NEW GUINEA
CELEBES
REP. OF INDONESIA
JAVA
INDIAN OCEAN
AUSTRALIA

of the Socialist Unity Party take their orders from the Kremlin in Moscow.

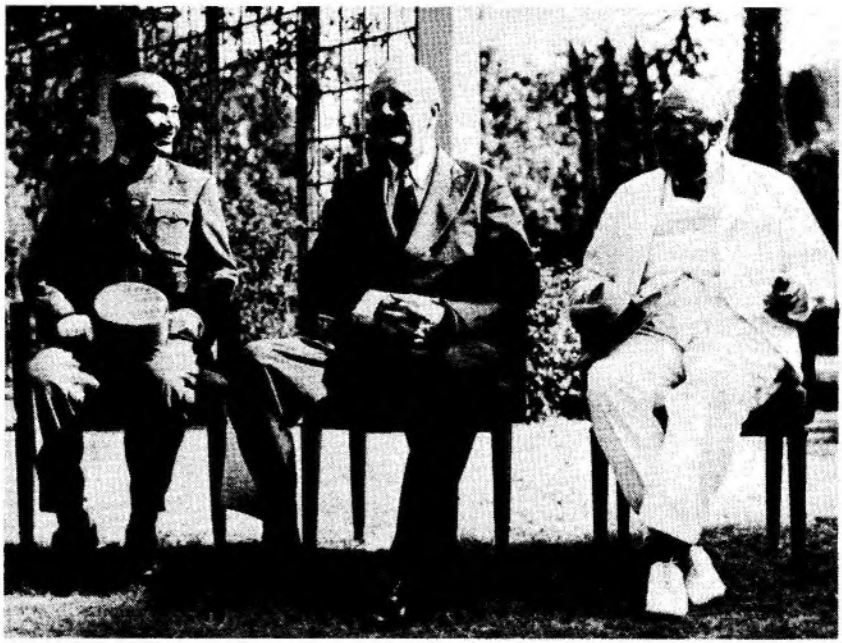
After the Poznan riots in Poland, the Kremlin partly relaxed its control of this satellite. To give the appearance of democracy, Polish Dictator Gomulka permitted a general election in January, 1957, and even placed the names of a few members of parties other than the Communist Party on the electoral ballots for members of Parliament. However, in all cases the lists of candidates were prepared by the Communist Party and the number of non-Communist candidates was reduced to a minimum. Gomulka claimed that this procedure was "real democracy." Mikolajczyk *(mih ko LY chik)* and other Polish patriots in exile denounced it as a propaganda trick.

1. What is the "crime of deviation"?
2. How does the idea that deviation is a crime help Party leaders hold onto their power?
3. What is the purpose of Party purges?

THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN CHINA

China Accepts Communist Aid. In 1920 the Communist International, which Lenin had founded in Moscow, sent an agent named Voitinsky to Shanghai. There he started a Chinese Communist Party subordinate to the Communist International. At the time Dr. Sun Yat-sen *(soon yaht-sen)*, leader of the Chinese Revolution, was trying to create a Western type of democratic government in China. His party was the Kuomintang *(KWO min TAHNG)*, or the National People's Party. Dr. Sun did not approve of Communist teachings, but he was impressed with the efficiency of the organization of Soviet Russia's Communist Party. He therefore asked the Communist International in Moscow to send someone to help him reorganize the Kuomintang. Naturally the International was glad to oblige. Here was a wide-open opportunity to fit China with tailor-made communism! It sent one of its most capable agents, Michael Borodin, to do the job.

Chinese Nationalists Find They Have Bought Communism. Sun Yat-sen wanted to reorganize his party in order to put down the war lords who controlled many provinces and who were little better than bandits. Borodin paid little attention to this problem. Instead,



During World War II, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill met with the leader of the Chinese Republic, Chiang Kai-shek, and plans were made to defeat Japan. The U.S.S.R. sent no spokesman to this key meeting.

he concentrated on bringing other Communist agents into the Kuomintang.

Sun Yat-sen never became a Communist, but he failed to realize the danger of relying on Communist advisers. In his eagerness to strengthen the Kuomintang as a fighting organization, he almost destroyed his party. When he died in 1925, Borodin and other Communists held so many strategic positions in the Kuomintang that they almost controlled the party. Then Chiang Kai-shek *(chee AHNG ky SHEK),* one of Sun Yat-sen's chief aides, came to realize the danger and started a movement to drive the Communists out of the Kuomintang. He finally succeeded after a long, exhausting struggle. But he could not rid China of the Communists. Borodin and his men had made the most of every chance to build a strong Communist Party in China. Thousands of young Chinese, especially students, followed Communist leadership in the hope of finding a quick cure for China's many problems.

Chiang Kai-shek Breaks with the Communists. In 1927 the Kuomintang gained control of the Chinese government and set out on the hard task of trying to build a united democratic republic. But

Chiang Kai-shek and his followers had to spend most of their time and strength fighting two enemies: Communist guerilla bands, and the armies of the old war lords. This was the beginning of a long civil war. It was a three-cornered war—the Republic of China under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek fighting the Communists on one side, and on the other the war lords who stubbornly held on to many provinces.

Japanese military leaders had long sought to control China; now they thought they saw their chance. In 1931 they invaded Manchuria and struck south of the Great Wall in 1933. China's struggle went on and became part of World War II, which ended in 1945. Chinese Communists did not want Japan to win, so they frequently attacked Japanese forces and made a great show of cooperating with Chiang Kai-shek. However, they saved most of their strength for the time when they could overthrow the Republic of China. In Pamphlet 6 you will read how Chinese Communists, led by Mao Tse-tung, succeeded with Russian aid in driving Chiang Kai-shek from China's mainland.

Chinese Reds Copy Russian Methods. Chinese Communist doctrine is almost identical with that of the Soviet Communists. In his student days in Peiping, Mao Tse-tung pored over the writings of Marx and Lenin. In 1936 he became dictator of the Chinese Communist Party; among his aides were men who had attended Lenin's University of Peoples of the East, as well as the Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow, both of which aimed to train Asians in the ways of communism.

From the first, Chinese Communists followed Marxist-Leninist teachings almost slavishly. With prompt obedience they accepted Stalin's revisions. Said Mao:

> *"The theory of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin is a universally applicable theory. . . . We should not merely learn Marxist-Leninist words and phrases, but also study it as the science of revolution."*

In building their Communist organization, Chinese Communists followed the leadership principle and the Party discipline that Lenin started. They organized their Party into a pyramid, with humble peasants and workers at the bottom and a Politburo at the top. Mao Tse-tung has been the undisputed leader of the Politburo, which since 1936 has averaged about eleven members.

In 1945, China had less than 1,250,000 Communists. That was

when Soviet Russia started outfitting Red Chinese armies with weapons and supplies the Japanese had surrendered. Throughout every province of China, well-trained *cadres* stirred up opposition to the Republic. By 1949, when Mao "liberated" or conquered China, the Party had grown to 3,500,000. Even in 1951 Party membership had scarcely reached six million out of a population of nearly 560 million. But these six million Communists were able to start forcing peasants onto collective farms.

Like the Russian Communists, Dictator Mao of Red China claims that supreme power over his Party belongs to a Congress made up of delegates from Party units throughout the provinces. But just as in Soviet Russia, the Congress seldom meets, and its members are hand-picked by Politburo agents. And just like the leaders of Soviet Russia's Presidium, Dictator Mao uses purges to get rid of any oppo-

Chinese Communists, carefully trained by Russian Communists, stage mass demonstrations in Chinese cities in attempts to convince Chinese people that the Communist way of life will solve their problems.

sition in the Party. Red China, too, has slave labor camps, where Chinese charged with deviation quickly find themselves. But while Mao has treated Chinese landowners even more brutally than the Russian Communists did, his purges have been less extensive than those of Stalin.

The Communists Create Dictatorships in Russia and China. Soviet Russia has only one party, the Communist Party. It controls the government, economic affairs, and the life of every citizen. The Party is just like a military organization, demanding absolute obedience. The "generals" are the members of the Presidium—dictators every one. In Soviet Russia and Red China, Communist membership has never included more than a tiny fraction of the total population.

From early childhood, young Russians are trained to obey the Party. They join the Little Octobrists, then the Young Pioneers, and finally the Komsomol, which is the training school for Party membership. A small group of men in the Presidium runs the Communist Party. Inside the Presidium a constant struggle for power goes on. Anyone who disobeys or criticizes the Party leaders is guilty of deviation and may be purged.

Communist agents infiltrated China, beginning in the 1920's. The Kuomintang fought a long battle against them, as well as against the war lords and later the Japanese invaders. After World War II, the Chinese Communists, with Russian aid, won control of China. The Chinese Reds have faithfully copied the Russian Communists in organization and methods.

1. Why did Sun Yat-sen welcome the first Communist agents?
2. Explain how the Chinese Civil War was a "three-cornered" war.
3. Show two important ways in which Chinese Communists have copied Soviet Russian methods.